

AN
HISTORICAL
GEOGRAPHY OF
IRAN

W. BARTHOLD

TRANSLATED BY
SVAT SOUCEK

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
C. E. BOSWORTH

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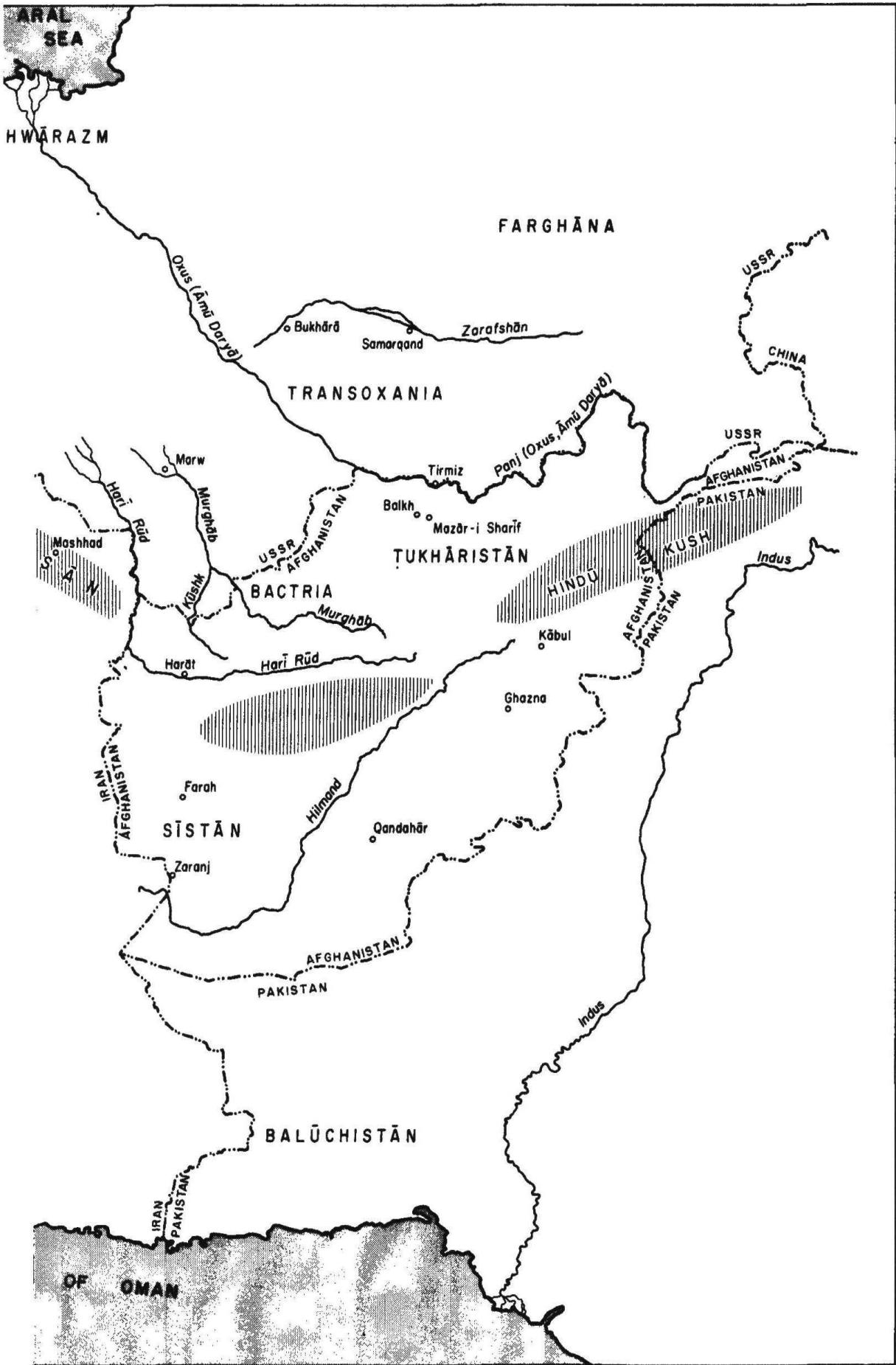
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
<i>AGWG</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
<i>AI</i>	<i>Athār-é Irān</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AMI</i>	<i>Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>
<i>AN</i>	<i>Akademia Nauk</i>
<i>ANVA</i>	<i>Avhandlinger utgivet av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademii, Oslo</i>
<i>AO</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
<i>AOHung</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia Hungarica</i>
<i>AOr</i>	<i>Archiv Orientální</i>
<i>APAW</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
<i>BGA</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum</i>
<i>BSO[A]S</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental [and African] Studies</i>
<i>CAJ</i>	<i>Central Asiatic Journal</i>
<i>EI¹</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st edition</i>
<i>EI²</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edition</i>
<i>EW</i>	<i>East and West</i>
<i>Farhang</i>	<i>Farhang-i jughrāfiyā-yi Irān</i>
<i>GAL</i>	<i>C. Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Literatur</i>
<i>GIPh</i>	<i>W. Geiger and E. Kuhn, eds., Grundriss der iranischen Philologie</i>
<i>GJ</i>	<i>Geographical Journal</i>
<i>GMS</i>	<i>Gibb Memorial Series</i>
<i>HJAS</i>	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
<i>Hor</i>	<i>Handbuch der Orientalistik</i>
<i>IA</i>	<i>Islām Ansiklopedisi</i>
<i>IIJ</i>	<i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i>
<i>IJMES</i>	<i>International Journal of Middle East Studies</i>
<i>IQ</i>	<i>Islamic Quarterly</i>
<i>Iran, JBIPS</i>	<i>Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies</i>
<i>Isl.</i>	<i>Der Islam</i>
<i>IUTAKÈ</i>	<i>Trudy Iuzhno-Turkmenistanskoi arkheologicheskoi kompleksnoi èkspeditsii</i>

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
<i>JASB</i>	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>JRCAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society</i>
<i>JSFOu</i>	<i>Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>MO</i>	<i>Le Monde Oriental</i>
<i>NGWG</i>	<i>Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvitenskap</i>
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>OON</i>	<i>Otdelenie obshchestvennykh nauk</i>
<i>PRGS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society</i>
<i>PW</i>	<i>Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
<i>REI</i>	<i>Revue des Études Islamiques</i>
<i>RMM</i>	<i>Revue du Monde Musulman</i>
<i>SA</i>	<i>Sovetskaia Arkheologija</i>
<i>SBAW Berlin</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlich. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
<i>SBWAW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
<i>SB Bayr. AW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
<i>Soch.</i>	V. V. Bartol'd, <i>Sochineniya</i> , Moscow, 1963-1977. 9 vols.
<i>SON</i>	<i>Seriia obshchestvennykh nauk</i>
<i>Survey of Persian Art</i>	A. U. Pope and P. A. Ackermann, eds. <i>A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present</i> . 6 vols. London and New York, 1938-1939.
<i>TPS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i>
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>ZII</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, Leipzig</i>
<i>ZVORAO</i>	<i>Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniya Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva</i>







EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

No historian of the eastern Islamic world is unfamiliar with the works of Vasilii Vladimirovich Bartold (1869-1930), or Wilhelm Barthold, as his name was originally rendered in the Germano-Russian milieu into which he was born. His magnum opus, the work based on his St. Petersburg doctoral thesis, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, appeared in English in the Gibb Memorial Series in 1928, and with an extra, hitherto unpublished chapter, again in 1968. The late Professor V. and Mrs. T. Minorsky performed a valuable service in 1958-1962 by translating as *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia* (in fact, five studies) Barthold's *A Short History of Turkestan*, *History of the Semirechyé*, *Ulugh-Beg*, *Mir 'Ali Shīr*, and *A History of the Turkman People*. The lectures that Barthold gave in Turkish at Istanbul in 1926 are available in both German and French versions (*Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, 1935, and *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 1945). A general work on Asian exploration and the evolution of oriental studies appeared in French in 1947, *La découverte de l'Asie, histoire de l'orientalisme en Europe et en Russie*. Various other lesser works have been translated into western languages and into Arabic, Persian, and Turkish; Barthold wrote certain of his articles in the language of his family background, German; and the large number of articles that he wrote for the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (many of them now updated and included in the new edition) are also widely available to the non-Russophone reader. But although the work of translation has gone on steadily in the half-century since Barthold's death, these works still represent only a small part of his total oeuvre, extending over some forty years; the *Collected Works* (*Sochinenia*) that appeared at Moscow between 1963 and 1977 (comprising ten parts in nine volumes) amount to over 7,000 large pages.

The stature of the man emerges from these bare statistics and the recounting of titles. The lands of eastern Islam, from Iran to Afghanistan and Central Asia, were Barthold's particular sphere of interest, and above all the latter, for the Russian advance into Central Asia during the later nineteenth century opened up for Russian scholars exciting possibilities of historical and archaeolog-

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

ical investigation, whereas earlier European travelers to places like Khiva, Bukhara, and Samarcand had had to contend with capricious and barbaric local potentates who hardly observed the international conventions of behavior toward accredited diplomats, let alone toward free-lance travelers and researchers, figures of suspicion at the best of times. Barthold realized early in his scholarly career at the University of St. Petersburg, where he lectured from 1896 onward, that the investigation of the history, topography, and antiquities of Central Asia offered a field similar to that opened up in the Indian subcontinent in the late eighteenth century for British scholars. Barthold made almost annual field trips to Central Asia starting in 1893, undeterred by the fact that in that first year, on a journey to Semirechye, he broke his leg and had to return to Tashkent for medical treatment. In the 1920s, he was much in demand by the various Soviet republics that had by 1924 emerged in Central Asia after the final extinguishing of nationalist and separatist aspirations there, to write local histories and accounts of the different Turkish peoples of the republics. Both in the Tsarist period and after, Barthold was insistent that Russian officials, traders, soldiers, and so on working in Central Asia should busy themselves in their spare time with the study of the region, recognizing how much invaluable work had been done for our knowledge of Indian geography, society, and history by successive generations of devoted British administrators and soldiers.

Central Asia has always been at the receiving end of religious, cultural, and other influences, rather than being a spontaneously creative region, and it is this receptiveness to an assortment of outside civilizations—including those of China, India, the Middle East—that makes the study of Central Asia and the interaction of these strands such a fascinating one. It does, however, make stringent demands on the scholar who would devote himself to Inner Asia, not least in the matter of linguistic equipment; hence the rarity of the multilingual Marquarts and Pelliots. Barthold's concern was more particularly Islamic Central Asia, and his skills lay chiefly in the sphere of the three great Islamic languages, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. He was an exacting philologist, fully cognizant of the truism not always appreciated today that without philological expertise the would-be specialist in the Middle East, or for that matter, in any part of Asia, is as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. Accompanying his *Turkestan* when it appeared in 1898–1900 was a volume of texts, most of them edited for the first time by Barthold from manuscripts bristling with linguistic problems

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and difficulties of interpretation; many of these texts, such as Gar-dīzī's *Zayn al-akhbār*, 'Awfi's *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt*, and Isfizārī's *Rawdāt al-jannāt*, have since been published, but here, as in so many spheres, Barthold was the pioneer.

One of those great civilizations that have profoundly affected Central Asia is the Iranian, for out of Iran such faiths as Zoroastrianism, Manicheism, Nestorian Christianity, and most recently Islam have been mediated to the Asian heartland. If only because a knowledge of Iranian civilization was a necessary adjunct to the understanding of Central Asia, Barthold was bound to be attracted to the study of Iran, a land with which Russia had already long been in intimate political, military, and commercial contact. Two of his major works, indeed, deal with it, the one translated here, and *Iran, a Historical Survey*, and both will now be available in English (a translation of the latter appeared at Bombay in about 1939).

Barthold's basic attitude to history was, as Professor Yuri Bregel has pointed out in a perceptive study that should be read in conjunction with this present Introduction,¹ that of nineteenth-century German positivist historiography, with the evolution of mankind viewed as a convergence of originally distinct human societies through the diffusion of culturally more advanced societies to the less advanced. It was in the light of this process that he viewed such diverse phenomena as religion, the growth of world empires, the development of urban life, and the spread of international trade, and that he viewed with favor the *missions civilisatrices* of the imperial powers of his time, whether Britain in India and Africa or Russia in Central Asia, Siberia, and the Caucasus. It was, indeed, Barthold's intellectual support for the Imperial Russian mission in Central Asia (one whose positive achievements were appreciated at the time by outside observers such as Schuyler and Curzon) that eventually contributed to a fuller rehabilitation of his work in post-Stalinist Soviet Russia. For although Barthold, as a Russian patriot, had stayed on in Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution, he gave no assent to Communism and regarded Marx as an unhistorical, unscientific figure whose ideas had no relevance for oriental studies; he had never become a nonperson in Soviet scholarship, but his works had been somewhat neglected or cited only selectively and misleadingly in some quarters, above all in the Central Asian Soviet Republics.

The *Historical Geography of Iran* is essentially an analytical and

¹ "Barthold and Modern Oriental Studies," *IJMES*, XII (1980), 385-403.

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descriptive work rather than an attempt at synthesis. Barthold was conscious of the backwardness of oriental studies in the identification and evaluation of the basic sources, compared with long-established disciplines such as classical studies and European literature and history. He held that the critical study of these basic sources was necessary before any meaningful grand syntheses could be made. Iran, with its successive great empires—those of the Achaemenids, Parthians, Sāsānids, and Muslims—its diverse faiths and its fine literary and artistic achievements, was already much more sharply focussed for the scholar than was Central Asia, but the historical geography of Iran, apart from groundwork done by such scholars as Tomaschek, had been hardly explored. As it happened, while Barthold was working on his book, two German scholars were also putting together outstanding contributions to this very subject, though from very different angles. Josef Marquart (a scholar whom Barthold felt to be to some extent a rival to himself, with their overlapping interests, and one whose wide-ranging speculations, even at times lucubrations, Barthold felt were often not sufficiently firmly grounded in reality) in his *Ērānsahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i* (1901) gave a translation of a brief and jejune Armenian geographical work enriched by a commentary of amazing erudition; and Paul Schwarz was embarking on his *Iran in Mittelalter* (1896-1936), a patient synthesis of all the information available in the medieval Islamic geographers but without any attempt at interpretation. These works Barthold was able to draw upon substantially only for his additional notes, but his own book stands as a parallel, though completely independent achievement, and has the additional advantage of providing a successful blend of classical, medieval Islamic, and modern European information on his subject.

For sources, Barthold accordingly drew upon the results of a patient sifting by earlier Iranists of the classical—above all Greek—sources on Iran; and then, for the earlier Islamic centuries, upon the corpus of ninth- and tenth-century Arabic geographical texts collected by M. J. de Goeje in his *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (1870-1894), supplemented by Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-buldān*. For the period of the Saljuqs, Mongols, Timūrids, and so on, he had texts by authors such as Nasawī, Juwaynī, 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, and Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, in the exploitation of which Barthold was often a trailblazer. For the period up to the present, for which primary historical sources in Persian or Arabic become sparser, he utilized fully the many European travelers, diplomatic envoys, merchants,

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members of religious orders, and so on who traveled within Iran, being thereby able, through the citation of such recent observers as I. N. Berezin, E. G. Browne, the Hon. G. N. Curzon, and A. V. Williams Jackson, to make his survey entirely up to date. It is not surprising that Barthold is particularly full on Khurāsān and the northeastern fringes of Iran, for Russian travelers and scholars had done much valuable spadework here for him; but the breadth of his treatment of other provinces such as Fārs and Azerbaijan shows that his mastery of the source material extended to the whole of historic Iran, including Mesopotamia, that at various epochs has formed part of the empires of Iran.

The basic sources for the medieval Islamic period have not been greatly enlarged since Barthold's time. Since it was only in 1922 that A.Z.V. Togan discovered at Mashhad a manuscript of the Arab traveler Abū Dulaf al-Khzraji's second *risāla* on his travels in northern and western Iran, Barthold was not able to draw upon this, although he was of course aware of the numerous citations from this work in Yāqūt; I have therefore added the relevant references to Minorsky's 1955 edition and translation of the *risāla*. Also, Barthold naturally knew of the anonymous Persian geographical work from the late tenth century, the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, acquired by Captain A. G. Tumanskii at Bukhara in 1893, and whose text he was later to edit and to have published posthumously (1930). But in the earlier period, he was only able to quote to a limited extent from a photographic copy, so that ampler references to the English translation and monumental commentary of Minorsky (1937) have been added by Livshits.

Finally, one should mention that a Persian translation of the *Historical Geography of Iran* was published at Tehran in 1930 by Sardādwar; it is now very hard to find,² and it may be fairly claimed that the present translation will for the first time make available to western readers one of the masterworks of a giant of oriental studies.

THE translation has been made by Dr. Svat Soucek from the text of the *Istoriko-geograficheskii obzor Irana* given in Vol. VII of Barthold's *Sochineniia* (Moscow, 1971), pp. 31-225, a volume provided with a lengthy Introduction (pp. 5-28) by Dr. V. A. Livshits. Barthold's original text is liberally sprinkled with quotations from Ar-

² My colleague, Mr. Mohsen Ashtiany, tells me that it has, however, recently been reprinted in Iran.

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

abic, Persian, and Turkish sources given in the original Arabic script. These also have been translated; citations from classical Greek authors have been left in the original script.

The notes are an exceedingly valuable feature of this 1971 edition, but as translated in this present work they represent a palimpsest, as it were, of different layers by different hands. Barthold's original notes, given with the 1903 original text, were brief and largely confined to the citation of oriental texts used for the work. But as was his custom with other major works, over the years Barthold accumulated, out of his own reading and in some instances his closer personal acquaintance with the actual terrain, a rich collection of further references. Facsimile examples of Barthold's notes are given by Livshits at pp. 22-26 of his Introduction. Livshits has integrated these with the notes of the original edition (leaving them, in many cases, in their terse, elliptical, notelike form), and in the present translation, these are not otherwise distinguished; anyone who wishes to disentangle the 1903 notes from the subsequent ones can easily do so from the *Sochineniia* text. Livshits has, however, vastly increased the value of the latter text by adding his own extensive annotation, comprising in the main relevant works that appeared during the years 1930-1967. In the present translation, these are marked off by angle brackets, thus: <<...>>. The final layer is that of my own notes, references to works that have either appeared since 1967 or that were published earlier but were apparently not available to Livshits in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, references to translations of texts into western European languages, for example to Yule's translation of Marco Polo and to Le Strange's one of Clavijo's *Embassy to Tamerlane*, have been given where Barthold cited only Russian translations. These additions of my own have been placed within square brackets, thus: [...] when they represent insertions within or additions to existing notes. Where a few notes have been inserted at fresh points in Barthold's text, these are indicated by letters, thus: a, b, c, etc. In general, however, I have sought not to overload still further an already substantial weight of annotation.

The bibliography given at the end of this book is a select one. Volume VII of the *Sochineniia* contains a bibliography of truly gargantuan dimensions (87 pages), although this also refers, it is true, to the other contents of the volume (*Iran, a Historical Survey*, some review articles and shorter articles, and some *Encyclopaedia of Islam* articles). The system that I have adopted within the body of the translation is to give the full title and bibliographical details when

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the work in question does not appear in the bibliography. The naturally very numerous Russian works cited by Barthold are usually given by short title only and without full bibliographical details. Sergei Shuiskii has assembled a bibliography of Russian works that gives the full references; this follows the main bibliography.

For measurements and distances, Barthold wisely did not attempt to reduce the figures given in his sources to a common denominator; hence one finds metric measurements side-by-side with, for example, English miles and the traditional Russian units. The reader may therefore find it useful to note that a verst is approximately a kilometer or 3,500 English feet in length, an arshin 28 inches in length, and a desiatina 2.7 acres in area.

C. E. BOSWORTH
December 1981

**AN
HISTORICAL
GEOGRAPHY OF
IRAN**

INTRODUCTION

THE purpose of this work is to present a brief survey of the geography of Iran, to dwell in greater detail on the sites that were at various historical periods the centers of life, and to determine, as far as possible, the degree of dependence of this life on geographical circumstances.

"Iran" as a geographical term denotes an elevated plateau, bordering on the north and northeast the basins of the Caspian and Aral seas, and on the west, south, and southeast, the basin of the Indian ocean. The country is one of the so-called interior, landlocked basins, whose characteristic peculiarities have been best described by F. Richthofen in his book on China.¹ The main difference between these basins and the ocean-drained or peripheral ones is that in the former, all the products of mechanical or chemical decomposition (through the action of water, wind, and so on) remain within the region, whereas in the latter they are carried away into the sea; in the former the accumulation of such deposits gradually effaces the unevenness of the soil and is instrumental in its leveling, whereas in the latter the deposits pile up along the coasts and further the formation of deltas and the raising of sea bottoms; the waters that pass through a country on the way to the sea erode the soil more and more, and the unevenness of the latter becomes ever more sharply pronounced. This is, then, how in closed basins the compartmentalization of the surface gradually diminishes, whereas in the peripheral ones it increases. Lack of moisture in landlocked basins, however, allows only a minor part of the country's surface to be cultivated, and this hinders a solid and lasting development of culture and civilization; for these reasons landlocked basins sharply differ from the peripheral ones not only in geography but also in history.

The Iranian plateau is one of such interior basins with an extremely dry climate.² Except in a few mountain areas, agriculture

¹ (F. Fr. von Richthofen, *China. Ergebnisse eigener Reisen und darauf gegründeter Studien* (Berlin, 1877), 1. Theil, 6-21.)

² For the absence of change in the climate during the last millennium, cf. W. Tomaschek, "Zur historischen Topographie, II," pp. 561-62; Polybius, X, 28, 3 cited by L. S. Berg, "Ob izmeneniiakh klimata v istoricheskuiu epokhu," *Zemlevedenie* (1911), book III, p. 80.

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is possible here only through irrigation; for this reason all the rivers, except for the most important ones, are divided up into irrigation canals as soon as they leave the mountains. Their remaining waters disappear in the sands. Civilization is of necessity concentrated along the fringes of the mountains that cut through the plateau. For these same reasons, the geographical borders of Iran could not coincide with the political and ethnic ones. The fact that almost the entire interior of the country is unsuitable for sedentary civilization could not but force the Iranians to settle areas neighboring the oceanic and Aralo-Caspian basins. The easternmost branch of the Iranians, the Afghans, now live chiefly in the basin of the Indus, whereas the westernmost one, the Kurds, live in that of the Tigris.³ These were the approximate limits within which lived the historical Iranians,⁴ as a result of which F. Spiegel, the author of a voluminous (now already somewhat dated) work on Iran, considered it possible to give his book the following title: *Érân, das Land zwischen dem Indus und Tigris.*

In the ethnic sense, the term "Iranians," as is well known, denotes that branch of the Aryans who are closely related to those of India. The oldest monuments of Indian and Iranian literatures are linguistically so similar that an attempt has even been made to reconstruct, in general terms, the language spoken by the proto-historical common ancestors of the Iranians and Indians. H. Oldenberg in his book *Aus Indien und Iran* remarks that "we can trace down to individual details the processes through which that language, not a single word of which has been preserved by history, developed to the southeast of the Hindu Kush into the dialect of the Vedas, and to the southwest of these same mountains into that of the Avesta."⁵ Of the two branches of the Asian Aryans—the Indians and Iranians—the Indians received their ethnic characteristics, it would seem, only in the country on that side of the Hindu Kush: there are no traces of Indians inhabiting the area to the north of these mountains. On the other hand, the Iranians, in the opinion of today's scholars, had at one time occupied a considerable portion of southern Russia and all of Turkestan, both western, present-day Russian, Turkestan and eastern Turkestan, that is, the Tarim

³ «For the present-day limits of the spread of the Iranian languages, see Oranskii, *Vuedemie*, p. 288.»

⁴ In the *Kitâb al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, I, 18², Sughd was called *Irân al-A'lâ*, "Upper Iran"; see Ross-Gauthiot, "De l'alphabet soghdien," *JA*, ser. 10, vol. XVII (1911), 532.

⁵ «H. Oldenberg, *Aus Indien und Iran* (Berlin, 1899), pp. 137-38.»

INTRODUCTION

basin. The languages spoken in this entire area already had the characteristic features of the Iranian idiom, not those of the proto-historical Indo-Iranian tongue. Both this fact and the few historical data available to us—the latter partly set out in F. A. Braun's magisterial dissertation *Razyskaniia v oblasti goto-slavianskikh otnoshenii* ["Researches in the Field of Gotha-Slavic Relations"]⁶—make us suppose that the movement of the Iranians, after their separation from the Indians, proceeded from east to west rather than vice versa; the Iranians migrated into present-day Persia, most probably, also from the east,⁷ and prior to their irruption there they reached a certain degree of cultural development in regions included today within the borders of Afghanistan. Here, in the basin of the Āmū Daryā and of other rivers that flow from the high mountain ranges that constitute that eastern limit of the Iranian plateau, the conditions of irrigation are somewhat more propitious than in the western part of Iran, for the high snow-clad mountain crests give rise to vigorous rivers. The traveler Ferrier, who in the years 1845-1846 crossed Persia and Afghanistan, states that through the area from Kermanshah, the principal town of Persian Kurdistān, to the Hari Rūd river, which represents the border of Persia and Afghanistan, he had to cross only brooks (*ruisseaux*); the Hari Rūd was the first river "à laquelle on puisse donner le nom de rivière."⁸ According to Ferrier again, the Hilmand is the only water course in the entire area from the Tigris to the Indus that deserves the appellation of a full-fledged river (*fleuve*).⁹

⁶ F. A. Braun, *Razyskaniia v oblasti goto-slavianskikh otnoshenii. I. Goty i ikh sosedii do V veka. Pervyi period: Goty na Visle* (Saint Petersburg, 1899), pp. 77, 90, 96 (Sbornik ORIAS = *Otdelenie russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imp. Akademii nauk*, vol. XIV, no. 12).

⁷ «For the possible routes of the movement of Iranian tribes into the territory of the Iranian plateau, see R. Ghirshman, *L'Iran des origines à l'Islam* (Paris, 1951), pp. 58 ff.; I. D'jakonov, *Istoriia Mid'a*, pp. 124-125, 1249-50; E. A. Grantovskii, "Drevneiranskoe etnicheskoe nazvanie "Parsava-Parsa," in *Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR*, fasc. XXX (1961), pp. 3-19; V. I. Abaev, *Skifo-europeiskie izoglosy na styke Vostoka i Zapada* (Moscow, 1961), pp. 122-24; M. Mayrhofer, *Die Indo-Arier im alten Vorderasien (mit einer analytischen Bibliographie)* (Wiesbaden, 1966); V. M. Masson, *Sredniaia Azia i Drevniy Vostok* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1964), pp. 395-449.»

⁸ *Voyages*, I, 269.

⁹ For the link between the lack of water and the absence of snow-clad mountains, see letter from A. D. Kalmykov.

CHAPTER XV

Gilān and Māzandarān

THE region along the southern coast of the Caspian sea differs radically, in nature and climate, from all the other regions of Iran. Gilān and Māzandarān, which occupy the narrow belt between the mountains and the sea, suffer not from lack, but from excess of moisture. A multitude of rivers flow from the mountains; most form at their estuaries the so-called *murdābs*, lagoons with stagnant water that emit exhalations of decomposition and are separated by shoals from the sea. There is not a single navigable river on this whole littoral, a feature remarked upon even by the tenth-century geographers.¹ South of this marshy coastal belt extends a zone of thick shrubland; mountains rise further south, their lower slopes covered with dense forests; still higher up are alpine pastures. Amid the overgrowth of shrubs and forests are scattered patches of land cleared of shrubs and trees in order to permit agriculture and human settlement.

In antiquity, the population of Gilān consisted of the Cadusians, who were independent of the Achaemenid government; this same people, or a part of it, was also called Geloi (Γῆλαι, Γέλαι, Γέλοι), an appellation then transferred to the region itself.² Further east lived the Anariachs, Mardoi or Amardoī (a name that was then applied to the river Safid Rūd as Amardos), and the Tapurs (Τάπυροι or Τάπουροι), whose name the Persians then applied, as Tapuristān, to present-day Māzandarān; this name, later modified by the Arabs as Ṭabaristān, still appears on the coins of the Sāsānid period and of the early Islamic period, just after the Islamic conquest. The eastern part of Māzandarān was reckoned as part of

¹ Iṣṭakhrī, p. 212.

² Caspii; Caspiana as part of Albania (Strabo, #502); according to Eratosthenes, the local name of the Caucasus (*ibid.*, #497). The Cadusii among the nations independent of Alexander, to the south of the Geloi (cf. map of Alexander's empire in Sykes, *A History of Persia*, I, 252). The order of succession in Strabo, #510: Γῆλαι καὶ Καδούσιοι καὶ Ἀμαρδοί. The Cadusii were infantry warriors fighting with spears. According to Strabo, #514, the Tapuroi were between the Arioi and the Hyrcanians, the Amardoī were behind the Hyrcanians along the seacoast, cf. Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans*, pp. 49, 71, and Forbiger, *Handbuch*, II, 567, 589.

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Hyrcaenia. All these peoples, with the exception of the Hyrcanians, were of non-Aryan stock. The Tapurs, who originally lived in the southeastern part of the area, were subjugated early by the Achae-menids; the Mardoi were defeated by Alexander the Great and later by the Parthians, who in the second century B.C. resettled them in the environs of Ray. The former territory of the Mardoi was occupied by the Tapurs; Ptolemy mentions in the area east of Daylam ($\Delta\epsilon\lambda\nu\mu\alpha\iota\varsigma$) on the coast of the Caspian only the Tapurs. Daylam was the mountainous part of Gilān.

A separate principality was formed in Ṭabaristān, according to some reports, toward the end of the Arsacid period, and maintained itself under the Sāsānids; after the fall of the latter dynasty, the rulers of Ṭabaristān assumed the title of Ispahbads of Khu-rāsān. One modern scholar, Marquart,³ points out the fact that alongside the Ispahbad dynasty⁴ there was in Ṭabaristān also the dynasty of Pādūspānids⁵ (civilian governors), and postulates that at a certain moment, probably at the time when Firūz, grandson of Yazdigird III, tried to restore the Iranian state, an entire system of government after the pattern of the Sāsānid state was formed in Ṭabaristān. The Arabs never conquered Gilān.⁶ Ṭabaristān fully submitted to them only under the 'Abbāsid caliph Manṣūr, although even after that, coins with Pahlavi inscriptions continued to be struck in Ṭabaristān.⁷

Iṣṭakhrī states that in Ṭabaristān the distance between the mountains and the sea nowhere exceeded one day's journey; in some places it reached the foot of the mountains. In Gilān this distance grew to two days or more.⁸ The level of the sea was in the tenth

³ *Ērānshahr*, p. 133.

⁴ The question of the Ispahbads; the ruler of Ṭabaristān called himself Ispahbad, see Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, p. 277. For the Ispahbads, see Ṭabari, II, 1,206 line 4. [Bosworth, *EI*², art. "Ispahbad," M. Rekaya, art. "Kārinids."]

⁵ «Persian *padōspān* from the Middle Persian title *pathōspān*.» [F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895), pp. 245-46; B. Nikitine, *EI*², art. "Bādūsbānids."]

⁶ For the Daylamites and their relations with the Sāsānids, see Ṭabari, tr. Nöldeke, pp. 167, 479 (about Persian garrisons; cf. Balādhuri, p. 321).

⁷ «Cf. R. Vasmer, "Die Eroberung Ṭabaristāns durch die Araber zur Zeit des Chalifen al-Manṣūr," *Islamica*, III (1927), 86-150; H. L. Rabino, "Les dynasties du Māzandarān de l'an 50 avant l'hégire à l'an 1066 de l'hégire (572 à 1597-1598), d'après les chroniques locales," *JA*, CCXXVIII (1936), 397-474; *idem*, L'histoire du Māzandarān," *JA*, CCXXXIV (1943-1945), 211-43. For the dynasty of the Ispahbads of Ṭabaristān, see also the bibliography in *Arabsku anorum XI v.*, p. 191.» [R. Vasmer, *EI*², art. "Māzandarān, the coins of"; W. Madelung, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, IV, 198 ff.]

⁸ Iṣṭakhrī, p. 206.

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century somewhat higher than today; this can be deduced from the fact that the distance between the town of Sārī and the sea was, according to Ibn al-Faqīh, three farsakhs in all.⁹ The staple food of the population was fish; rice predominated among the cereals, as a result of the warm and humid climate. The eastern border of Tabaristān passed between Ṭamīs [Tamīsha] and Astarābād, one day's journey east of Ṭamīs. The border city of Tabaristān on the west was Shālūs, which lay twenty farsakhs from Āmul and on the seacoast, probably at the estuary of the Chalas. Thus only one part of present-day Māzandarān entered into the structure of Tabaristān; its western districts were counted as part of Gilān, and its eastern ones, together with the city of Astarābād, of Jurjān.¹⁰ As for the province of Gilān, it appears in the sources as Jīlān or al-Daylam, and was divided into two parts, that of the plains and that of the mountains. In the coastal plain lived the Geloi, al-Jīl, in the mountains "the real Daylams," *al-Daylam al-mahd*. The Geloi constituted the greater part of the population in the littoral and along the border of Tabaristān; they spoke a distinct language that differed from Persian, Arranian, and Armenian.¹¹ Political domination was in the hands of the Daylamīs, from whom there sprang the dynasty of the Justānids, Āl-i Justān, who lived in the town of Tārum.¹² This same name (Tārum) is still applied to the district along the middle course of the Safid Rūd. According to other data,¹³ the residence of the Justānids was Rūdbār on the Safid Rūd.¹⁴ In Maqdisī's time, Barwān was considered the chief town of the Daylamīs.¹⁵ It was a minor town whose location is not indicated; nearby was a place called Shahristān, where at the bottom of an excavated well the rulers' treasures were kept. The principal

⁹ Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 303, tr. p. 359; see also Ibn al-Faqīh's data in the new edition of the chapter on Tabaristān based on the Mashhad ms. in [Ibn al-Faqīh, Russian:] *As-Savad i Tabaristān*.

¹⁰ Important for the Muslims of the border «illegible»; for Qazwīn in Yāqūt. Remarks about the Ahl Jurjān and about the roads to Khurāsān in Tabārī, I, 2,839.

¹¹ Ibn Hawqal, p. 268.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ İştakhri, p. 204.

¹⁴ «For the Justānid dynasty, see also Kasrawī, *Shahriyārān-i gumnām*, I; Minorsky, "La domination des Dailamites," in Minorsky, *Iranica*, pp. 12-30; H. L. Rabino, "Rulers of Gilan," *JRAS* (1920), 277-96; *idem*, "Les dynasties locales du Gilān et du Daylam," *JA*, CCXXXVII (1949), 301-50.» [W. Madelung, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, IV, 223-26.]

¹⁵ Maqdisī, p. 360.

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towns of the Geloī are listed only by Maqdīsī;¹⁶ from among these the most important one was Dūlāb, a mercantile center not far from the sea, seemingly in the western part of Gilān, because five days' journey was reckoned from it to Mūghān, and eleven days' journey to Shālūs.¹⁷ According to Iṣṭakhrī, there lived in the mountains yet another people, who spoke a language different from that of the Geloī and the Daylamīs.¹⁸

Also as a part of Daylam was originally counted the mountainous region of Rūyān or Rūyānij, which occupied the area immediately north of Ray on both slopes of the mountain range; the town of Shālūs was ascribed to this region, but the chief city was called Kajja. Rūyān was annexed to Ṭabaristān only under the governor 'Umar b. al-'Alā', whose coins begin with the year 770 A.D. Four farsakhs from Shālūs lay the "new town," *madīna muhaddatha*, where 'Umar b. al-'Alā' settled the Daylamīs who had adopted Islam and submitted to him; further on lived the Daylamīs who had not acknowledged him.¹⁹ That part of the region which lay on the southern slopes of the mountain range was governed from Ray, the northern part was governed from Ṭabaristān.²⁰ Mention is also made of the following additional mountain regions: 1). Damāwand and its environs, administered by a special governor whose title was Mas-i Mūghān, that is, the chief of the Magi;²¹ this district was conquered by the Arabs under the caliph Manṣūr;²² 2). the mountains of Sarwīn or "Mountains of Ibn Qārin," further east; here was the town of Sihmār and the fortress of Firrīm, residence of the local rulers; the Arabs subjugated these mountain dwellers in the ninth century, but then they allowed the rise of the local dynasty of the Qārinids;²³ 3). "the mountains of Pādūspān," Jabal Fādūsbān,

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 355, 360. «Cf. Barthold, "Gilian po rukopisi Tumanskogo," *Soch.* VII, 453-55; *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, pp. 136-37, 391.»

¹⁷ Maqdīsī, p. 373.

¹⁸ Iṣṭakhrī, p. 205.

¹⁹ Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 305; tr. p. 361.

²⁰ Iṣṭakhrī, p. 206. «For the history and historical geography of Rūyān, see Awliyā' Allāh Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Āmulī, *Ta'rīkh-i Rūyān* (Tehran, 1313/1934); *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, p. 387 and the bibliography there.»

²¹ Cf. Marquart, *Erānšahr*, p. 127. «See also *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, p. 391; Spuler, *Iukan in früh-islamischer Zeit*, p. 310, and the bibliography there.» [V. Minorsky, *EI*¹, art. "al-Maṣmūghān"; M. Streck, *EI*², art. "Damāwand."]

²² Ibn al-Faqīh, pp. 276, 314; tr. pp. 330 ff., 372 ff.

²³ «For Sihmār, Firrīm, and the Qārinid dynasty, see *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, p. 387, and the bibliography there.» [M. Rekaya, *EI*², art. "Kārinids"; C. E. Bosworth, *EI*² Suppl. art. "Firrīm."]

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where there was not a single Friday mosque; the main settlement was called Uram. Like Sīhmār, Uram too lay at a distance of one day's journey from Sārī.²⁴

In that part of Daylam which retained its independence, the spread of Islam was connected with a popular movement.²⁵ According to İştakhri, the first propagator of Islam in Daylam was the 'Alid imām Ḥasan b. Zayd; in 864 he led the people of Shalūs and of another border town, Kalār, in their uprising against the Ṭāhirids.²⁶ This uprising was provoked by an attempt on the part of the Ṭāhirids to seize for their own benefit the lands that were in common use and did not belong to any specific owner.²⁷ Ḥasan b. Zayd and his successor Muḥammad were obliged to wage ceaseless war for Ṭabaristān and Ray, first with the Ṭāhirids, then with the Ṣaffārids and Sāmānidids;²⁸ the chief support of their rule came from Daylam, where they won to their side the dynasty of the Justānid. Muḥammad b. Zayd fell in 900 in a battle with the Sāmānid troops; in 902 the Justānid ruler of Daylam was pushed out of Ṭabaristān, but managed to maintain himself in his original possessions.²⁹

²⁴ Evidence of Nāṣir-i Khusraw (*Safar-nāma* [Tehran lithog.], pp. 10 ff.) who traveled from Qazwīn to Tabrīz through Gilān in the summer of 1046 *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13, from Shamīrān (*qaṣaba-yi wilāyat-i Tārum*) on 26 Muḥarram; for its ruler: "And this prince writes his name in documents in the following manner: Marzbān of Daylam, Jīl of Jīlān, Abū Ṣalīḥ, client of the Commander of the Faithful; his name is Justān Ibrāhim." (Cf. Barthold, "K istorii krest'ianskikh dvizhenii," p. 60 n. 1, *Soch.* VII, 446 n. 48); for the title of the ruler, see Spuler, *Iran in fruh-islamischer Zeit*, p. 357.) On 14 Safar he arrived in the city of Sarāb, from there on the 16th he passed through Sa'īdābād, on the 26th he arrived in Tabrīz. For Shamīrān, see Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 226.

²⁵ The uprising of Māzyār b. Qārin also had a popular character; see Ṭabari, III, 1,268 ff. (For Māzyār's rebellion, see Barthold, "K istorii krest'ianskikh dvizhenii," pp. 57-58, *Soch.* VII, 443-44; Rabino, *Mázandarán and Astarábád*, pp. 408 ff.; V. Minorsky, *EI*, art. "Māzyār"; B. Spuler, *Iran in fruh-islamischer Zeit*, pp. 65-67 and the bibliography there, pp. 136, 195, 235.) (Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens*, pp. 290 ff.)

²⁶ İştakhri, p. 205.

²⁷ Ṭabari, III, 1,524. (W. Madelung, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, IV, 206-12; Bosworth, *ibid.*, pp. 99-100.)

²⁸ (For Ḥasan b. Zayd, see also Barthold, *Turkestan*, *Soch.* I, 272; H. L. Rabino, "Les dynasties alaouides du Mazandéran," *JA*, CCX (1927), 253-77; Spuler, *Iran in fruh-islamischer Zeit*, pp. 71, 75, 79, 170-71, 221 n. 8, 310.)

²⁹ Gilān belonged to the 'Alids in the tenth century; the Justānid existed still in the eleventh century, according to Nāṣir-i Khusraw; from Gilān there also issued in the tenth century the dynasty of Mārbān b. Sallār in Azerbaijan (see above, p. 217, n. 18).

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The Shi'i movement was renewed in 914; this time the imām Hasan b. 'Alī al-Utrūsh, according to Ibn al-Athīr,³⁰ called upon the population of Daylam and Gilān to rise against the Justānids and to accept Islam, while at the same time he promised them freedom from the tithe. The democratic nature of the uprising comes out even more clearly in the words of the eleventh-century historian Birūnī, who accuses Hasan al-Utrūsh of destroying the structure of the clan whose founder was considered to be the mythical hero Farīdūn.³¹ Only from this time onward were the Daylamīs officially recognized as Muslims, and as a sign of this Hasan ordered the border fortress in Shälüs to be dismantled. Hasan died as early as 917; the strong impression made by his reforms is conveyed in the words of the historians, who state that never before had there been such a just ruler.³² In the same century there issued from among the Daylamī mountain dwellers the Shi'i dynasty of the Buwayhids, whose members at first served the Ṭabaristān dynasty of the Ziyārids and then became rulers of all Iran except Khurāsān.^a

The principal cities of present-day Gilān, Lāhijān and Rasht, are mentioned for the first time in the Mongol period.³³ The development of towns and of crafts in Gilān began, it would seem, only after the tenth century. The geographers of that century speak of silk production and the manufacture of silk fabrics only in Ṭabaristān, especially Āmul, whither the seeds of mulberry trees were

³⁰ Ed. Tornberg, VIII, 61.

³¹ Barthold, *Turkestan*, Soch. I, 273.

³² Tabārī, III, 2,292. (For Hasan Utrūsh's rebellion, see also Barthold, "K istorii krest'ianskikh dvizhenii," pp. 58-60, Soch. VII, 444-46; Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, p. 86 and note 2 with bibliography, pp. 89, 462.) [W. Madelung in *Cambridge History of Iran*, IV, 208-10; R. Strothmann, *EP*, art. "Hasan b. Utrūsh"; W. Madelung, *EP* Suppl., art. "al-Hasan b. Kāsim."]

^a For the Buwayhids, or Büyids, see Cl. Cahen, *EP*, art. "Buwayhids"; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)* (Beirut-Wiesbaden, 1969); *idem*, "Iran under the Büyids," in *Cambridge History of Iran*, IV, 250-304.

³³ For Rasht, see Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 174, first mentioned by Mustawfi ("Mustawfi is one of the earliest authorities to describe Rasht, now the capital of Gilān, but none of the Arab geographers appear even to name it"). Tāq-i Gabr in Lāhijān, see Jackson, *From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam*, p. 89; illustration of the site in the same work, pp. 83-92. Minorsky's remarks in his "Kelyashin," p. 182, that the town of Lāhijān in Gilān was called Lārjān. In Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 340, Lārjān is between Ray and Āmul, eighteen farsakhs from either town. (The districts of Lāhijān (in the form Lāfjān) and Rasht are mentioned in *Hudūd al-'ālam*, fol. 30b; see Barthold, "Gilian po rukopisi Tumanskogo," Soch. VII, 454; *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, pp. 137, 384, 388, 390, 410 n. 1. For the history of Lāhijān, see H. L. Rabino, "Rulers of Lāhijān and Fūman in Gilān, Persia," *JRAS* (1918), pp. 85-100.) [Bosworth, *EP*, art. "Lāhijān."]

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brought from Gurgān.³⁴ In the thirteenth century and later, it was Gilān silk that enjoyed the greatest renown. Yāqūt, at the beginning of the same century, mentions the silk of a place called Lāhij in Gilān, that is, from the district of Lāhijān, as being of poor quality.³⁵ By the end of that same century, the silk of Gilān, according to Marco Polo, was a commodity coveted by the Genoese merchants whose ships made their appearance on the Caspian shortly before Marco Polo wrote his book.³⁶ Gilān was conquered by the Mongols only in 1307, thus much later than the rest of Iran. It was by that time divided up into twelve small principalities and the chief town was Lāhijān. The Mongols penetrated the region from several directions: from Ardabil, Khalkhāl, Qazwīn, and Sultāniyya via Tārum.³⁷ Subsequently, from the end of the fourteenth century and throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, two small dynasties reigned in Gilān: the Kiyā dynasty of Lāhijān and the Ishāqids of Rasht. Both ceased to exist at the close of the sixteenth century.³⁸ A part of Gilān with the town of Rasht was conquered by Peter the Great in 1723; according to an agreement concluded in that same year, Iran also ceded to Russia Māzandarān and Astarābād, but neither region was really occupied; even the occupation of Lāhijān in 1725 was realized only through force of arms. In 1729, Russia officially renounced Māzandarān and Astarābād, in 1732 it returned Gilān and the whole territory south of the Kur, and in 1735 even Bākū and Darband, which were, however, reconquered at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

At the present time, the chief town of Gilān is Rasht, one of the important commercial centers of Persia; it is situated on the rivulet Shāh Rūdbar (the left-hand channel of the Safid Rūd), which forms at its estuary the bay of Enzeli, a *murdāb* or lagoon of the above-mentioned type; on the spit of land that separates the bay from the sea lies the port of Enzeli. Rasht is the main import and export

³⁴ İştakhri, p. 213. «Cf. *Hudūd al-‘Ālam*, fols. 29b-30a.»

³⁵ Mu’jam, IV, 344.

³⁶ Tr. Minaev, p. 31 [tr. Yule, I, 51, 56]. «For sericulture in Gilān in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and subsequent centuries, see Petrushevskii, *Zemledelie*, pp. 166-70.» [Serjeant, Islamic Textiles, pp. 71, 75-76.]

³⁷ D’Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, IV, 488-94.

³⁸ Lane Poole, tr. Barthold, *Musul’manskie dinasti*, pp. 293-94. J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (Pest, 1827-1835), II, 562, concerning an embassy of the Khan of Gilān Ahmad in 1588. Cf. Iskandar Munshi, ms., fol. 39a, ed. Tehran, p. 112, tr. Savory, pp. 185-86, concerning a journey to Lāhijān and Qazwīn. The harbor of Lankrūd, on which see Rittikh, *Ocherk Persii*, p. 14 n. 2.

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center in the trade with Russia; its importance as the mart of Gilān has fluctuated with the ups and downs in the main source of the province's wealth, sericulture.³⁹ A decline in sericulture occurred during the political upheavals at the beginning of the eighteenth century. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, following the reestablishment of order, this branch of industry again showed considerable growth. Rasht had at that time, according to Ferrier, between 60,000 and 80,000 inhabitants,⁴⁰ whereas at present the number does not exceed 30,000.⁴¹ Sericulture in Gilān suffered much from the plague among the silkworms in 1866; measures for a rehabilitation of this industry began to be taken only in 1890. Another product of the environs of Rasht is tobacco. The streets of the city are narrow and dirty, and it has no walls or gates; its environs, like the whole southern coast of the Caspian sea, are conspicuous for their fertility. According to Tumanskii's observations, the people of Gilān differ even today in their physiognomy from the rest of the Persians and resemble rather the inhabitants of southern Europe;⁴² also characteristic are the distinctive peculiarities in their clothes and the type of their dwellings.⁴³ Tumanskii explains the low standard of living among the peasant population by its almost serflike dependence on the landlords. From Rasht the main road led through the pass of Kharzān to Qazwīn, and from there to Tehran. Of the other cities of Gilān, only Lāhijān deserves to be mentioned. To the east of it, beyond the mountain of Dulfaq, was the hilly region of Tunkābun with a narrow coastal belt that bordered on Māzandarān; the chief town of Tunkābun was Khurramābād.⁴⁴

³⁹ Regarding the commerce of Gilān in 1907, there is an article by S. Olfer'ev, superintendent of the consulate in Rasht, "Torgovlia Giliana." Renaissance of sericulture; tobacco growing, unknown forty years ago, now provides a secure income for the population. Rice began to be grown because of the disease of silkworms; in the past, the wealth of the Gilānis was based on sericulture, just as the wealth of the Māzandarānis was based on rice and cotton. Wheat and barley are almost never sown in the Caspian regions. Cf. İştakhrī's statement (p. 212) about Māzandarān: "and their bread is mostly [baked] from rice [flour]."

⁴⁰ *Travels and Adventures*, p. 151.

⁴¹ Curzon, *Persia*, I, 385; Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 445: "possibly 100,000." [Lockhart, *Persian Cities*, pp. 73-79. The population in 1976 was 187,203 (*Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, IV [1976-1977], 242).]

⁴² *Ot Kaspiuskogo moria*, p. 6.

⁴³ Schiltberger, *Puteshestvna*, pp. 49-50, singles out as a speciality of the Gilānis "woven shoes."

⁴⁴ «For the historical geography and history of Gilān, see in addition to the works mentioned above, Barthold, "Mesto prikaspiiskikh oblastei," *Soch.* II/1; Cl. Huart,

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As for Māzandarān, both the origin and the time of appearance of this name are unclear. Yāqūt (thirteenth century A.D.) remarks that this name was of recent date, for he did not find it in written sources.⁴⁵ Persian authors offer several explanations for this appellation; one claims that it meant "land inside the mountains of Māz," mountains that were said to extend from the border of Gilān to Jājarm; according to another etymology, Māz was the name of a wall stretching from Gilān to Jājarm, allegedly built by the local ninth-century ruler Mazyār b. Qārin.⁴⁶ Some, however, consider this name to be much older, and interpret the words of the Avesta regarding the "dīws of Māzān" as referring to Māzandarān.⁴⁷

The tenth-century geographers knew Māzandarān, as we have seen, only under the name Ṭabaristān. Its ancient capital was Sārī on the river Tejen,⁴⁸ three farsakhs from the sea;⁴⁹ today the coast is farther from the town. The rulers of the region, the Ispahbads, lived in the city of Ispahbadān slightly further north, only two miles, that is, about four versts, from the sea. Mention is also made of a place named Tāq in the mountains where, according to tradition, were kept the treasures of the Persian kings from the time of the mythical Manūchihir.⁵⁰

After the Arab conquest, the Ispahbads continued to live in Sārī. Āmul became the residence of the Arab governors; it lay on the left bank of the Haraz, a stream on which there is still a bridge of ancient construction.⁵¹ Āmul soon became the foremost town of

EI¹, art. "Gilān"; H. L. Rabino, "Les provinces caspiennes de la Perse. Le Guīlān," RMM, XXXII (1915-1916), 1-499; Abbās Kadīwar, *Ta'rikh-i Gilān* (Tehran, 1319/1940); *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, pp. 384-91.]

⁴⁵ *Mu'jam*, IV, 392. According to Minorsky, EI¹, art. "Māzandarān," the name, known in pre-Islamic Iran, reappears in the Saljuq period, soon supplanting the earlier Islamic name of Ṭabaristān.

⁴⁶ In Zāhir al-Dīn Mar'ashī, ed. Dorn, p. 21. (Cf. V. Minorsky, EI¹, art. "Māzyār.")

⁴⁷ Justi, *Geschichte der orientalischen Völker*, p. 335. (Cf. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 12, 445.)

⁴⁸ In Zāhir al-Dīn Mar'ashī it is Tijna Rūd or Tajina Rūd.

⁴⁹ Approaching from Gurgān, the first town of Ṭabaristān is Tāmis between Sārī and Astarābād; concerning the walls, see Ibn Rusta, p. 150. (In the Arab geographers also, Tamisa, in *Hudūd al-'ālam*, fol. 29b, Tamisha; cf. Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 375; *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, p. 386.) [On these walls and the excavations there, see A.D.H. Bivar and G. Fehérvári, "The Walls of Tammisha," *Iran*, JBIPS, IV (1966), 35-50. The Tammisha walls seem to have been a second line of defense after the first line in Gurgān, the so-called "Wall of Alexander," in Türkmen terminology, Qızıl Yilan, see R. N. Frye, "The Sasanian System of Walls for Defense," pp. 12-14 in M. Rosen-Ayalon (ed.), *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet* (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 7-15.]

⁵⁰ Ibn al-Faqih, p. 310; tr. p. 368.

⁵¹ In Zāhir al-Dīn Mar'ashī, it is Harhaz.

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Ṭabaristān in terms of its population and of the development of its industry; it retained that importance even though the Ṭāhirids and 'Alids moved the region's capital temporarily back to Sārī. The population of Āmul in the tenth century surpassed that of Qazwīn;⁵² the silk fabrics for which Ṭabaristān was famous were manufactured chiefly in Āmul.⁵³ From Āmul originated the greater part of the historians and scholars whose *nisba* was al-Ṭabārī, among them the famous Muḥammad b. Jarīr, author of the first historical compilation and of the first voluminous Qur'ān commentary. The Arab geographers mention only one road that went from the south through the mountains to Ṭabaristān: from Ray past Mount Dāmāwand to Āmul.⁵⁴

Besides the dynasties of the Ziyārids and Buwayhids, which gained importance throughout the whole of Persia, there also ruled in Māzandarān during the Middle Ages the local dynasties of the Bāwandids and, in the mountain areas of Rūyān and Rustamdār, the Bādūspānids (Rustamdār is an area along the Shāh Rūd, an affluent of the Safid Rūd).⁵⁵ Also mentioned as a separate political unit is the district of Kabūd-Jāma; according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazwīnī,⁵⁶ it was "an island with a large population, whither head the ships from Gilān and Māzandarān, from which it derives great income; it lies some three farsakhs from Astarābād."⁵⁷ At the present time, the distance between Astarābād and the sea is greater, almost thirty versts; the island of Ashur-Ada, which in the nineteenth century became a Russian naval station, lies some ten versts

⁵² Iṣṭakhri, p. 212.

⁵³ Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 304; tr. p. 361. «For sericulture in Māzandarān, see Petrushevskii, *Zemledelie*, pp. 166, 169-70.» [L. Lockhart, *EP*², s.v.; Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, pp. 76-79.]

⁵⁴ Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 8, regarding the contentment of the Māzandarānis with their country. For literature on this subject, see W. Geiger, "Kleinere Dialekte und Dialektgruppen," *GIPh*, I, 346; Amīr Pāzwār or Pāzwārī: it is not known when he lived. S. F. Ol'denburg's remarks ("Valentin Alekseevich Zhukovskii," p. 2,044) regarding Amīr Pāzwārī. «For Amīr Pāzwārī and other early medieval poets who wrote in the dialects of Māzandarān and Gilān, see now J. Rypka, *Dějiny novoperské literatury* (Prague, 1963), pp. 60, 76 [enlarged Eng. tr. (Dordrecht, 1968), pp. 74, 92]; Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, p. 240 n. 4.»

⁵⁵ In Rustamdār there are strongholds of the Ismā'īlīs, Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 374; the chief fortress, Kalām, was destroyed by the Saljuq sultān Muḥammad (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 297).

⁵⁶ *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, University ms. 171, fol. 238a [ed. Le Strange, p. 160, tr. *idem*, p. 157].

⁵⁷ For Kabūd-Jāma, see Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 375. The town of Raw'ad or Rawghad measured «according to Mustawfī» 4,000 paces in circuit.

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further off the eastern coast.⁵⁸ The Bāwandid dynasty ruled, with brief interruptions, until the middle of the fourteenth century; that of the Bādūspānids, as vassal rulers, lasted until the second half of the sixteenth century. The names of most members of both these dynasties (Shahriyār, Rustam, Yazdigird, Ardashīr, and so on), like those of the Ziyārids and Buwayhids, show how long were retained, despite Islam, the traditions of the Sāsānid epoch in these regions.⁵⁹ We also know that the inhabitants of the Caspian regions still wore long hair in the fourteenth century, in contrast with the rest of the Muslims.⁶⁰

The Mongols did not encounter much resistance in Māzandarān; Astarābād and the capital of Māzandarān, Āmul, suffered the most in the invasion. Under the Il-Khanids, Astarābād and its environs had some importance as winter quarters of certain khans and princes, the latter being primarily the governors of Khurāsān. Here ruled the last member of the Mongols of Persia, Tuga Timūr, who was killed in 1353. Afterwards, Astarābād and the eastern part of Māzandarān were acquired by the amīr Walī, who was defeated by Timūr in 1384.⁶¹ In the fourteenth century, a dynasty of Shi'i imāms, who united temporal and spiritual rule, arose in Māzandarān. In 1392 the province was subjected to Timūr's invasion; his soldiers laboriously and with axes hacked their way from Astarābād to Sārī through thick growths of vegetation (*jangal*). The Sayyids fled to the fortress of Māhāna Sar, some four farsakhs from Āmul, near the seacoast on a high hill.⁶² Today the distance between Āmul and the coast is reckoned to be only twelve English miles, so that

⁵⁸ The occupation of Ashur-Ada by the Russians in 1838. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 6, Bandar Gaz is to the south of it.

⁵⁹ Cf. Lane-Poole, tr. Barthold, *Musul'manske dinasti*, pp. 290-93. «For the Bāwandids and Bādūspānids, see also Kasrawī, *Shahriyārān-i gumnām*; Rabino, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*; *idem*, "Les dynasties du Māzanderān."» [Zambaur, *Manuel*, pp. 186 ff.; R. N. Frye, *EI²*, art. "Bāwand."]

⁶⁰ Zāhir al-Dīn Mar'ashī, p. 341.

⁶¹ The bay of Nim-Murdān near the island of Ashur-Ada is mentioned by Mustawfi (cf. Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 375). Astarābād is mentioned by Isfizārī, Asiatic Museum ms., 574 agh, fols. 80b-81a, regarding silk and other items; revenue: "the zakāt revenue from there amounts to eighty *kebekī* tūmāns," that is, somewhat more than all of Kirmān. According to Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 11, about one-half of the territory of Astarābād is inhabited, and the population does not exceed 10,000; according to Dubeux, *La Perse*, the number is 30,000. «For the history of Astarābād, see also the literature mentioned on p. 117, n. 29.»

⁶² Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdi, I, 570-71. [This dynasty is that of the Ḥusaynid Mar'ashī Sayyids, see Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 193; Rabino, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, pp. 142-43; Mir Taymūr Mar'ashī, *Ta'rīkh-i Khāndān-i Mar'ashī-yi Māzandarān*, ed. Manūchihr Sutūda (Tehran, 2536 shāhānshāhī/1336 A.S.H./1967).]

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little seems to have changed in this part of littoral (in contrast to places further east). The fortress was taken by Tīmūr with the help of a fleet put together by the boatmen of the Āmū Daryā; after its fall, Tīmūr returned to Sārī, where the Sayyids were put on a ship and, according to Zāhir al-Dīn, were shipped on the sea and then on the Jayhūn [that is, the Āmū Daryā] to a destination whence they were sent to Khwārazm, Samarqand, and Tashkent, places of assigned residence for the members of the fallen dynasty.⁶³ This account of events that took place in 1392 is significant as one of the weightiest arguments for the theory that the course of the Āmū Daryā again changed direction, after Mongol invasion, toward the Caspian, and maintained it down to the second half of the sixteenth century. The historians, Zāhir al-Dīn among them,⁶⁴ also report the discussions between Tīmūr and the Sayyids, whom he reproached for their hostile behavior toward the Companions of the Prophet. The subsequent ferocious slaughter of the inhabitants of Sārī, Āmul, and other places was explained as punishment of Shi‘ī heretics. We know that in Damascus Tīmūr presented himself as an avenger of the insults perpetrated by the Umayyads on the family of the Prophet; this led not only the Arab historians of the time, such as Ibn ‘Arabshāh,⁶⁵ but even many European scholars (such as Müller, the author of a well-known history of Islam) to consider Tīmūr a protector of the Shi‘īs.⁶⁶ But a comparison of Tīmūr’s actions in Syria and in the Caspian regions provides the best proof that to him—just as to Chingiz Khan and most other conquerors—religion was only a tool for the attainment of political goals.

After Tīmūr’s death, the Sayyids received permission to return to Māzandarān, and they reigned there as vassal rulers to the end of the sixteenth century; from then onward, Māzandarān no longer had any separate political importance. Among the Persian shāhs, ‘Abbās the Great (1587-1628) was the one who paid the most attention to this province.⁶⁷ In his reign, a paved road was built from Astarābād to Sārī and Āmul; it made Māzandarān accessible in any season of the year.⁶⁸ Khanikoff, who was there in 1858, says that

⁶³ Zāhir al-Dīn, p. 436.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 430 ff.

⁶⁵ Ed. Manger, I, 632.

⁶⁶ A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland* (Berlin, 1885-1887), II, 316.

⁶⁷ The conquest of Māzandarān in 1596 by way of Āmul (Iskandar Munshī, ms. fol. 77a ff.) [*ed.* Tehran, pp. 518-20, tr. Savory, pp. 693-98].

⁶⁸ The road was laid down in 1622, cf. *ibid.*, fol. 324a-b [*ed.* Tehran, p. 990, tr. Savory, pp. 1060-61]. The road “from the region of Khwār and H.b.Irūd and

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the road does not seem to have been repaired since Shāh 'Abbās's time, and that in many places the paving stones had been removed by peasants.⁶⁹ 'Abbās built for himself palaces in the town of Ashraf, on the road from Astarābād to Sārī seven versts south of the coast, and in that of Farahābād, four and one half versts from the estuary of the Tejen, the same river on which Sārī lies; Farahābād was the place where Shāh 'Abbās died. His constructions in both these cities lie in ruins today.

Under Shāh 'Abbās was created the town of Bārfurūsh, on the small river Bābil⁷⁰ along the road from Sārī to Āmul; it too had a palace of Shāh 'Abbās. As a settlement, however, Bārfurūsh is already mentioned by Zāhir al-Dīn; its ancient name was Mamṭīr.⁷¹ Bārfurūsh became at the beginning of the nineteenth century, under Fatḥ 'Ali Shāh, the foremost city of Māzandarān in terms of trade and population; the latter includes today, according to certain accounts, up to 50,000 souls.⁷² At the mouth of the same river, twenty miles from Bārfurūsh, is the anchorage of Mashhad-i Sar, visited by Russian steamers; its name is due to the tradition that the head of the imām al-Ridā's brother was cut off and buried here. This anchorage is plagued by the same shallowness and other drawbacks that exist in the other harbors of the southern coast of the Caspian. Under Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, the Austrian engineer Gasteiger Khan built a road from Tehran to Āmul, and one of the wealthy Persian merchants, Hājjī Muhammad Hasan, built a railroad from Āmul to the coast with the help of Belgian engineers; this railroad, however, then fell into neglect.⁷³

Firuzkūh to Farahābād [the distance is] close to eight-nine marches, approximately forty-five farsakhs or perhaps more."

⁶⁹ *Mémoire*, p. 71.

⁷⁰ In Zāhir al-Dīn Mar'ashī, it is Bāwil.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 80. Mamṭīr or Mamāṭīr in Le Strange, *The Lands*, pp. 374-75, reference to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*. Incorrect remark on Bārfurūsh, *ibid.*, p. 375 n. 1. In Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 642, Mamṭīr is the second largest town of Ṭabaristān; reference to Ibn al-Faqih, cf. pp. 302, 304.

⁷² Also 50,000 in Bārfurūsh, according to Geiger, "Geographie von Iran," *GIPh*, II, 384, and 10,000 in Āmul.

⁷³ «For the historical geography and history of Māzandarān, see in addition to the works cited above also Barthold, "Mesto prikasiiskikh provintsiy," *Soch.* II/I, 649-772; Ibn Isfandiyār, ed. 'Abbas Iqbāl (Tehran, 1330-1 /1941-2) and tr. by E. G. Browne (Leiden and London, 1905); 'Abbas Shāyān, *Māzandarān (awdā' jughrafiyā' i wa ta'rīkhī)* (Tehran, 1326-7/1937-8); Ahmad Barimānī, *Daryā-yi Khazar yā Daryā-yi Māzandarān* (Tehran, 1326/1947); Ismā'il Mähjūy, *Ta'rīkh-i Māzandarān* (Tehran, 1343/1964); Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, pp. 3-7, 140-42.»

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